

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1866.

THE STANDARD.

By invitation of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Aaron M. Powell assumes the editorialship of the Standard. It will be a welcome announcement to the readers of this journal that Special Editor Phillips is to be for the year a Special Editorial Contributor. Arrangements have been made for additional services from other able, experienced, and thoroughly competent journalists and contributors.

We are able to announce, therefore, that the Standard will not only be continued for another year, but that it will, with increased vigor, uphold and carry forward the standard of truth and justice, by its advocacy of impartial freedom, and of the elevation and equal enfranchisement of the colored race.

We shall make some typographical changes, and surrender to advertisers a limited space. With the continued and active co-operation of our friends in different parts of the country, we hope to extend considerably the circulation of THE STANDARD, and in this critical period of our struggle to enlarge its sphere of influence and usefulness.

CONGRESS SURRENDERS.

There is but one vital point in the matter of reconstruction—whether the Negro shall vote. All other questions are unimportant or will easily settle themselves. On this vital point Congress has surrendered. A few Senators may resist the Reconstruction plan, but Congress, as a body, has surrendered.

The President has a purpose. He can hardly be said to have a policy. He strives and plans only for a reelection in 1868. To secure that, he will support or oppose any principle and any measure. To secure that, he would support even negro suffrage. He opposes it only because he believes such opposition the surest way to effect his purpose. The President subordinates everything, his own convictions and the necessities of the country, to the perpetuation of his own power.

Congress does exactly the same thing. To save the Republican party, the leading men in both Houses give the lie to their own and to the nation's convictions. They are solemnly avowed and avowed again to the justice and indispensable necessity of negro suffrage—the fact that no safe and permanent settlement can be had without it. They feel the necessity of going before the people, the coming Antislavery, with some definite plan. The report of the Reconstruction Committee is such a plan, arranged not to save the country, but to save the Republican party. That it is inconsistent with itself, wholly inadequate to its professed purpose, unsafe, unjust to the negro and disgraceful to the nation, very many of its supporters admit. But they hope it may save the party at the ballot-box next Fall. This plan ignores the negro ballot. Congress avows its belief that no party can live before the people unless it throws overboard negro suffrage. If that be true, then is the South, thus far, victorious, and the rebellion is not quelled. If the people have really not yet learned the lesson of the war—that of impartial liberty and equality—then, to a great extent, the lives and treasure lavished upon the past five years, have been a waste.

Of course, the opinion of so many eminent men on a political question like this should have fitting weight. Still, we do not hesitate to express our conviction that Congress is mistaken in this, as in a far higher matter, "whoever will save his life, shall lose it." Any party which seeks first its own perpetuation is sure to be defeated. We know this is not the faith of those selflessly ambitious officeholders and seekers who compliment each other with the name of "practical statesmen." But still the fact is so. Our whole history shows it. Especially does the history of Southern parties and politics prove it. The South fights to-day frankly for what she believes a principle. In four cases out of five she has always done so, and always been successful. Her practical statesmanship, attested by almost constant success, consists of frankness, courage, and an idea. Our "practical statesmanship" consists of hypocrisy, fear, and a compromise. Its pathway, like that of a caravan, is marked by the skeletons of many brave pretenders who died of chagrin.

So far, then, as two great departments of government have declared themselves, we have passed from the era of war, and are launched into the game of politics. Congress rears its hope for the future on that section of its Committee's report of each lately rebellious State just in proportion as it disfranchises the Negro. The more delusive expedient was resorted to in 1789. Deprive it, it was said, the States of two-fifths of their strength in the House of Representatives, and soon their selfish greed for power will eat away the institution. History shows how idle was the expectation. So will it be now for many years. Meanwhile, the plan puts the South on her feet inside the government, able to intrigue her way back to her old supremacy. By adopting this plan, we surrender the rights war gave us to dictate terms, and descend to chaffer and dicker in the arena of ordinary politics. The country was ready to do its whole duty, the leaders of the Republican party done theirs. Had Congress exercised its undoubted right to disregard the President's usurpations, and called on all the loyal men of the insurgent States to assemble in Convention, and amend the Constitution based on integrity, then, and then members of Congress, the country would have sustained their action. Had Mr. Johnson dared to interfere, he should and could have been at once impeached. The reason this was not attempted was because the idea was entertained that by submission the President could be conciliated and the Republican party saved from a breach. First and last, the idea of saving the party has wrecked it, and threatens, so far as it can, to wreck the nation.

Congress, by far, at this time, is in a confidence in evident and palpable traitors, has committed suicide. On it rests the full responsibility of the failure by the North

to consummate its victory. That the names of Aaron Burr and Andrew Johnson, yet his grave and sterner verdict in Congress who, with the country in their hands and the air full of their brave pledges, have made no effort to rally the people to the defense of what they have scores of times proclaimed to be a national necessity, and the denial of which they have again and again denounced as national sin.

We know the people still remain. Betrayed by their leaders, however, little can be expected of them. Except an index and measure of the Republican party, the Reconstruction Committee has no plan, is of little importance. There is no chance of its ever receiving such sanction from the States as will give it constitutional validity. It is meant only as the battleground for the Fall elections. Considered in that light, its danger is that it lets down the level of national purpose and allows the dominant party to crystallize round a policy which gives easy success to the President's plans. Demoralized by their bid for a settlement, and defeated on this level, they fall almost willingly prey to the alliance between Copperheads and Secessionists, cemented by the sacrifice of the President who will be ground into invisible powder by their Union.

If the difficulties that beset our pathway could be masked or disguised by political management, we should have little hope. But the effort is vain, and will result only in the total annihilation of the party which attempts it. The war is not ended. No usurpation of party elections in the country is invested in justice to the Negro. Every capitalist knows it, and will soon discover the fact. We need not cry with Chatham, "Let discord reign forever" rather than such a peace. It will, worse, spite of all our attempts to make a seeming peace. Hence our hope and our faith. God gives us yet no spot to rest; the waters are out and flooding the world. Our vessel of state can yet, and thus, find no anchorage. Nothing disturbs our faith. To the real though little statesmen of the Republican party, and to the hocksters of the ward-rooms, and bar-rooms, who style themselves "practical statesmen"—yes, and to the South itself, we say, in the eloquent words of Mr. Gladstone:

"You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not check, will not be impeded or disturbed. Those great social forces are against you; they are marshalled on our side; and the moment they may drop over our sinking, and they will be borne by the firm hands of the united people, the people not to an easy, but to a certain and not distant victory."

CONGRESSIONAL AND WASHINGTON NEWS.

The President's Colorado veto message was received in the Senate on Wednesday the 15th, and on Thursday it was laid on the table without being read, and ordered to be printed—possibly a slight disrespect to Mr. Johnson. The House on the 15th passed a resolution in relation to the transportation of nitro-glycerine. On the 17th the President sent back to the Senate the confirmation of Mr. Slocum as Internal Revenue Collector for Philadelphia, whose appointment had been intimated by Mr. Johnson's hapless radicalism, will probably have to wait some time before the Senate accepts him. The Senate passed the House nitro-glycerine bill. When the West Point bill came up, as the President had vetoed it, the House refused to pass it, and the President's veto was sustained. The House also passed a bill to prohibit the appointment of any cadet who has served in the rebel army. The Connecticut Senatorial election attracted a good deal of attention at Washington—during this week, and Mr. Dixon freely boasted that the conspiracy to defeat General Foster, which he had been agreed in the Johnson campaign to endeavor to apply to the Republican majorities in the States of Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont, the same corrupt influences of the United States Senate to defeat the Republican candidate. But Mr. Foster, it is said, has since seen the infamy that awaited his complicity in that plot, and has telegraphed home that he withdraws his name from the contest without further expressed dissent. Mr. Scofield, the New Jersey renegade from the Republican ranks, appears in Washington as the confident and counselor of the President in reference to appointments in the Senate. In the House, on the 15th, the Senate bill, Mr. Sumner, in presenting a petition for the trial of Davis by court-martial, remarked that the proposed trial at Richmond by a jury would be "one of those things which would be the choice of the world."

On Monday, the 19th, the House passed a resolution for the appointment of a Joint Committee on the subject of the Bureau of Prisons. This indicates its want of confidence in the appointment of Gen. Steedman and Fullerton. In the Senate, the Colorado veto was made the special order for next Tuesday, and the debate on the Reconstruction report, which was assigned for the 21st, was postponed all week. The President is said to have ordered the arrest and trial of all officers in North Carolina charged with offenses by the report of his Inspector-General. In the Senate, on Tuesday, the 19th, Mr. Wilson reported a bill to amend the act in relation to the Treasury. Mr. Sherman, as it is now to compensate for this absurd extravagance, called up his bill to consolidate the public debt and reduce the interest on it to 5 per cent. The House passed the Bankrupt bill, 69 to 59; and continued the consideration of the Tax bill, on which it has been engaged during the week in Committee of the Whole.

Thomas Tarrow in the Independent of last week in an article on the Anniversary, speaks thus of the meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society: "The Anti-Slavery meetings were held at Dr. Chase's church—well known to the friends of the cause. The Rev. Dr. Phillips, President, made several speeches during the week—some of them in his happiest vein. The Rev. Dr. Frothingham's thoughtful remarks on the nature and need of the cause were a good keynote to the opening week. The earlier characteristics—meek, egotistical, and timid. But the Abolitionists have taught themselves how to get along without these luxuries. The Anti-Slavery Standard, the official organ of the Society, and one of our best newspapers—is to be cited during this year's editor, Parker Pillsbury, a veteran in the service, has become the General Agent of the Society. We did not find the debates less interesting, less stirring, spirited, merry, and profound, and less profitable, which took place in the semi-public meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Long may it live—for we believe it will never be prepared to die!"

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